1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Macedonia

own tape to measure just how much he had harvested so there was little likelihood that they would be short-changed. "But don't you often work as a group in a field? How do you measure the individual share in that case?" "Then the owner will say that the field is twenty stremmas in size and that he will give so much per person per stremma for doing that field. An agreement is reached and we all get to work." When they return for their wheat they will have to find some way — by donkey and by caique — of getting it back to their village on the heights overlooking the sea.

It seems that the people of Parthenon do not follow any set pattern in late May or early June when they go to help with the harvest. Individuals or small family groups are independently "on their own"; they go wherever there seems to be a demand for their services; and each individual, a woman as well as a man, is entitled to keep or dispose of the grain earned as he sees fit. In some mountain villages where there are many unmarried girls they often are sent by the families to do this work and are expected to bring back their earnings to the family. Groups of such young people always have a festival air lacking when the middle-aged people have to leave their home village and put in long hours in the field. "We also work with the moon," interjected one of the women who had said little up to that point, indicating that working hours were not from sun to sun but went on far into the night as long as people could see. And light was necessary, for there was danger of accident when wielding the razor-sharp sickles which each worker provided for himself.

There was a crescendo of excitement as we approached Neos Marmaras, our destination. The peasants could see their village of Parthenon far away on the slopes above. They pointed it out to us, asked us to come and visit them and, when we were forced to decline, thanked us profusely for the wonderful favor we had done them. As usual, they had no idea of the help they had rendered me in trying to understand the economic significance to them of this annual trek to the plain to help with the harvest. When mechanization runs its full course and the bulk of the grain is harvested by combines, these people will face the problem that now confronts many thousands of village families in the mountains bordering Thessaly where their services are no longer needed.

Social change is inevitable in the face of an ever-expanding industrial revolution that reaches even to the isolated mountain valleys of ancient Greece. We can only hope that along with the spread of mechanization there will be imaginative social policies to keep man the master rather than the victim of the machine, taking into account the inevitable shifts in type of labor and sources of income in areas where hand labor is no longer needed. The peasants of Greece, with their readiness to tackle whatever is new, would be the last to want to turn back the clock, but they do have a right to wonder where they are to get their bread.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Transhumance in the Peloponnesos

We were on our way to Tripolis, the chief interior city of the Peloponnesos. Earlier we had crossed the Corinth Canal, had stopped for gas at Corinth, and gone on to Argos, perhaps the most ancient city of Greece. Oranges were ripe on the trees in the square around the cathedral, where buses pulled up to let their through passengers have a bite to eat. Turkeys and chickens tied by the leg to the top of the bus gobbled and squawked intermittently, but long ago had ceased to struggle for freedom. Leaving Argos, we had begun the long winding climb that eventually brought us to a mountain-top view of the blue Gulf of Argos and of the small port city of Nauplion across the way beneath a fortress-topped summit. As always in Greece, the shifting light gave a magic cast to the hills whose eroded sides revealed a rainbow of color, to the brown cultivated fields below, and to the brilliant iridescent water. Such landscapes, ethereal in quality, are the paths into another world, where the legendary universe of Homer seems to have flowed into the pastoral existence of Greek shepherd families today. Suddenly, that life teemed about us.

The sheep were rounding the same curve as we were, but in the opposite direction — hundreds of them pushing and shoving and terrified at the sight of a noisy, shiny automobile. We quickly pulled to the side and parked. The shepherds whistled and called, brandishing their long crooks until they finally got the huge flock of sheep and goats past us. Having encountered and met this emergency, the shepherds were ready for a cigarette and a short chat. They were from the village of Valtetsi, a few miles beyond Tripolis, up in the mountains, and were headed with their flocks and families for Kranidi, approximately twenty-five miles below Nauplion. We learned that they were following the practice geographers call *transhumance,*[5] or the moving of the herds, as the seasons change, from a summer to a winter pasture, particularly from mountain to lowland grazing. These were not nomads in an endless round of movement on schedule from one good grassland to another. These people from Valtetsi had left their village of solid stone houses, where they spend approximately half of the year, for a definite location along a coastal plain where they were to spend the other half of the year.[6]

The shepherds to whom we talked represented five families traveling together. Each family had from one hundred to one hundred fifty sheep, its major source of sustenance and income; women and children accompanied the men and animals as a whole family. The trip from Valtetsi to Kranidi took eight days of slow travel. On this trek and at its lowland site each family managed its own affairs, with the father in charge.[7] There was no cooperative arrangement of a chief shepherd which I was to find later on in a journey to Northern Greece — simply a movement of parents and

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

occasionally with her husband. In the presence of guests she defers to him, even when questions are asked about the house, unless he suggests that she give the answers. But this does not mean that she is lacking in self-respect or forthrightness. If King Paul should make a surprise visit to her village, she would greet him in her homespun clothes without any indication of subservience; if she should attend a school reception held for a graduating class including one of her children, she would be very much at ease and would talk to those who spoke to her.

Further insight into the husband-wife relationship may be derived from the type of letter Greek village men write to their wives when they are in military service. There are, of course, many personal and even local differences: the Cretan soldier writes much more lovingly than the one from Macedonia, for instance. In the many I have seen, however, there is a single, almost universal, formula:

> Dear wife, I salute you. If you ask about my health, I am fine. I hope the same goes for you. If you ask about me I am high up in the mountains somewhere in Greece. (I'm not allowed to tell where.) Longing for my home and all of you, I pray to God that soon I may be near you. [Now come all the problems of his farm.] Tell my brother John to look after the cow. Don't sell any property until I come. [If he has a couple of children, he will always express longing for the younger. If he has an unmarried sister who is engaged, he will say that he hopes, when he comes back, to arrange for her dowry. He is quite willing to surrender authority to his wife who is on the scene, which is quite the reverse of what he may do when he is at home. He will also boast in the letter about how good things are and how quickly they will lick the enemy. He may talk about his captain, if he is good, and say:] We have a fine captain and he promises to give me some leave as soon as things get easier. [He may also ask about the animals, mentioning them by name, especially the "home" animals. He will end the letter by naming all of his relatives and friends, perhaps eight or nine in number.] I kiss you, [wife's name], your husband, [his name].

To understand how the wife gets along with her "lord and master," one must also see the relationship the parents have with the children of the home. One person I spoke with who was very familiar with Greek rural life commented in the first place that the man is the nominal head of the home but that few people realize to how great an extent the woman is the administrator in the house. Although she has no acknowledged position, she is nevertheless very important. In many families she holds the purse. One of her sons earning money outside the home might give it to her to use in buying clothing or school books for the younger children. Her husband will consult with her if he is thinking of buying an ox, or if he wants to build a poultry house. He would talk over any improvements with her.

1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

594 If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations.
[571] The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

[584] Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the [861] man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything [581] is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

[654] Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't [235] insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the [511] children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

[578] These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents [581] if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does [831] not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

[562] One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

562 There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming
593 dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the [521] dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[9]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

861 to extreme leniency. All with whom I talked agreed that children were sup-
● 594 posed to be obedient and respectful toward their parents, although now
[178] and then someone would point out that the world was "going to the dogs" because the youngsters were not as obedient as they used or ought to be. Fifteen teen-aged village boys from Northern Greece who were attending the American Farm School in Thessalonike were asked who had punished them when they misbehaved at home, and ten claimed that their mothers had disciplined them. When asked up to what age the mother exercised this control, they said up until fifteen or sixteen years of age. One boy from Epirus pointed out that he had a brother, now a teacher, who was still beaten by his mother when she thought it necessary. The mother is in a position to administer this punishment because the children in general feel much closer
594 to her than to the father. These schoolboys agreed that if they wanted something in the house, they would go directly to the mother for permission; if they wanted something (such as a pair of shoes) which their father would have to grant, they would go first to the mother with the request that she intercede for them.

858 Children, though disciplined, are also enjoyed. A child soon learns when he can rush into a family group and receive attention and when he is supposed to stay away because the adults are intent upon something else. But he can stay around and listen to what is said, perhaps comprehending little, yet not feeling shut out from the intimacy of the group.

594 Several people pointed out the close connection between child care and
855 the division of labor in the family. In some parts of Southern Greece, where
184 the women help only with the harvesting of the olives and grain, children
[462] receive better care because the mother is around the house. In Central and Northern Greece, where the mother is in the field much more of the time, the child undergoes more hardship. However, one informant pointed out that in the colder regions of the country the father was apt to be closer to his children, for he would sit with his family around the fireplace in the evening instead of going off to the coffeehouse. Even where the work of
861 the women differed, the approach to child discipline seemed to be about
184 the same, a fact which was reiterated time and again and borne out by per-
[855] sonal observation. Furthermore, those who knew well both the so-called refugee villages and the other villages said that the homes in each were about the same as far as love and tenderness toward the child was concerned, even though the relative status of the woman differed. In matters of discipline, the native villagers are perhaps a little rougher in that they will use a stick whereas the refugee parents will be more apt to spank. When the child approaches eight years of age, the punishment will become more severe. Discipline is stricter with boys "since they are more disobedient."

857 The child is often a real economic asset. In some areas, such as the to-

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

584 local customs in this regard — and they are asserting themselves throughout the land — then others will follow as the old people shake their heads and lecture those in their own home with varying success.

583 In following up the inquiry about mate selection we stopped one day near Marathon. There in the hot summer sun three unmarried girls were [243] harvesting wheat. With great dexterity they held the stalks in one hand and cut them with a slicing motion of the sickle held in the other. Two of [465] the girls were sisters and the third was a first cousin, and this was their uncle's field. They expected to be paid a little over a dollar a day.

583 "What will happen to the money?"

594 "It will go into our dowry. We'll give it to our mother who takes care of it and knows what to buy. Of course, when she's short of money for coffee [571] and sugar she will go nibble from the dowry money. We do our own dowries [438] on the loom. We weave, sell the cloth, and then buy underclothes from the city."

"If you are working outside, how can you do your weaving for the dowry?"

"Our mothers may do it. An older sister may weave for herself and a younger sister working outside."

584 But we were interested in the girls' marriage plans. In their village they make use of the *proxenetra,* or marriage broker, when this is necessary.[6] But often the girls become known in other villages where their former friends or cousins are married and now live. One of these married cousins will say to an eligible bachelor: "I know just the girl for you back in my home village." She will then describe the girl, perhaps show pictures of her, and seek to interest him in her. One of the girls said, "I don't have much dowry but the boy came and asked for me anyway." We asked her what [583] dowry she had. She will get fields and, since her sister and she are the only children in the family, whoever marries her is sure of at least half of her father's holdings. "So the groom will get a lot," we observed. "Oh, yes, and her name is already over the whole village" was the reply of the first cousin. One of the girls had been engaged for eighteen months and would marry in the fall. She would go to live with her husband's people.

584 A generation or so ago, parents had a decisive voice in the choice of 184 mates, but times have changed greatly (though not completely). Answers 178 to a question, put to young men in a group interview, as to how they would choose their wives ranged as follows:

Epirus: I will suggest to my parents the name of the girl I wish to marry. They will get information about her; if she has a good reputation and they agree, I will marry her. If they do not agree, I won't marry her.

Thasos (island off Thracian coast): If parents have any objection to the girl I pick and can give good reasons, then I won't marry her. If they don't have good reasons, I will marry her anyway.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

provided in addition. In some of the poorer villages fifty sovereigns are the going price, but much more often one hundred or one hundred and fifty are mentioned. Localities as widely scattered as Agrinion and Mesolongi on the west coast, Ioannina in Epirus, villages near Thebes, those in Attica, and some in the Peloponnesos report such demands, but often add that an equivalent amount in land (thirty to forty stremmata) would be accepted.

Some villages, however, particularly those in the Peloponnesos and Central Greece where the lure of the city is strong, set as the chief goal of the dowry a house in Athens to be provided by the bride. To be sure, this house consists of only two rooms and a kitchen, but it means that the new family can either take root in Athens itself or else rent out the property at a high rate of return. In place of the house, three hundred gold sovereigns are considered acceptable and land is much less important than formerly.

There are doubtless other types of dowry arrangements, but these suffice to show the regional variations and the growing emphasis upon money as the chief resource a young couple will use to get a start in life. In some cases the dowry is paid directly to the husband to use as he sees fit and may be subject to return if he fails to live up to his part of the marriage bargain. But in many cases the wife maintains considerable control over the disposition of her dowry. One thing is attested to on every hand: the wife who brings a big dowry, particularly in cash, is not sent to the field by her husband except in most unusual circumstances. Thus, privileged status both in her own home and in the community is assured her. If a girl brings no dowry, around Lamia at least, she has to work very hard and may even be subject to chastisement.

A clearer picture of what is meant by household goods and linen can be gained from a simple list of what a girl from the village of Spathari, in the Peloponnesos, is supposed to provide: This list, though not the same throughout all of Greece, is indicative of the long hours of labor and financial drain represented:

45–50 blankets
6 sheets
12 pairs pillow cases
15–16 towels
2 big rugs
6 rag rugs
6 big sauce pans
3 medium pans
3 small pans
1 big frying pan
1 medium frying pan
2 round cake pans
2 big and 1 medium spoons
6 of each piece of cutlery
Fireplace equipment (big kettle, 2 andirons, hanging arm, scuttle)

A dowry is a cumulative matter, often reflecting the savings of previous generations. That is why the devastation of war works far more hardship than is at first apparent. It is still a strong tradition among Greek families to make as many of the objects at home as possible and buy only those

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

583 articles of clothing, such as undergarments, which the rude looms cannot [432] suitably fashion. Women have been urged since early childhood to get up at [461] break of day and work on these trousseaus for themselves or for their daughters long before it was time to go out to the fields.

[511] Most families have a common fund from which expenditures are to be [594] made for dowry items. From time to time, husbands and wives quarrel over the use of further funds for the dowry, since the man will claim that the daughter already has enough household items and linens or sufficient sovereigns, but the wife will not agree. As the girl approaches marriageable [554] age, most people in the village have a shrewd way of sizing up just what dowry she will bring, and the local girls are even roughly ranked along this [581] line. Nevertheless, in discussing the desirability of some young woman, people are quick to mention her family background, what a good worker she is, and other personal qualities which may favor her. A girl will start [883] accumulating her dowry as a serious pursuit from her tenth year on, but no final decision will be made as to the exact amount of land or money she will bring to her husband until some young man seeks her out, or the family begins in earnest to try to marry her off. Family fortunes can vary too much to permit a decision of this sort very far in advance. At times, the exact [584] amount is the subject of bargaining, for the young man may ask for whatever sum he wants and the young woman's parents will tell what they can give. If a mutually satisfactory sum is reached, then the engagement is announced.

[464] In those villages where there are active contacts with some city, the [454] family may find it necessary to send a daughter there to help earn her dowry (for instance, if there are three daughters in a family). As early as eight years of age, she may be sent to some relatives and gradually accumulate a sufficient sum from her meager wages. Some parents may borrow [426] money for the dowry from some richer relative without interest, but seldom from outsiders. If necessary, too, they may sell some land to get the required amount. Now and then a well-to-do man may arrange to marry a [626] girl without demanding a dowry and this gives the village something to talk [183] about for quite a while. Or some young men were encountered, particularly in the Peloponnesos, who fall in love with a girl and then try to find out a way to get a house built even though the girl has no dowry. Such variations illustrate that, even in a society with patriarchal overtones, one finds in rural Greece the belief that "love will find a way," whether it means persuading recalcitrant parents to give their permission or accumulating the wherewithal to buy a house so one can marry. And although there are [602] mercenary overtones to any dowry agreement, it is the general rule that parents are trying to look out for their daughter's welfare to the best of their ability, that they are anticipating the in-law relationships — very important in Greece — with the parents and relatives of their daughter's husband.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 Closely related to a family head's economic predicament is the demand
241 for, and therefore the price of, the cash crops that he grows. The tobacco
● 594 farmer of Northern Greece, the peasant growing olives on Mount Pelion
near Thessaly, the apple grower in western Macedonia around Phlorina, and
[435] the producer of currents in the northern Peloponnesos are familiar with the ups and downs of the world markets. When he shifts from wheat to cotton or rice, the farmer makes more than an economic decision; he also determines much about family relationships in his home. Growing wheat calls for a very different participation of the woman than does the cultivation of rice in irrigated fields. In the latter case, the farmer also has to submit himself
[312] to the organizational control that the use of irrigated water necessitates,
[476] being ready to divert the stream into his own fields when his neighbor has used the allotted time for watering his fields. With his neighbors, too, he must cooperate to keep drainage ditches clear, unless this can be turned over to some governmental agency. Or, if a family shifts from sheep raising to settled farming, the fate of the children is apt to be different. In caring
[233] [857] for sheep the children are an important economic asset, which keeps them away from the house for several hours during the day and even away from school for two or three years.

178 Social change of the drifting, unplanned sort can be observed among the
626 young people as well. On a Sunday afternoon a young man recently re-
183 turned from the army may go up to a young woman in the promenade on the village square and ask if he can walk with her. This may be the first time that any young man has made this maneuver in this village. The other young people watch with almost unbelieving eyes and, if they see that no serious social consequences are visited upon the innovator, may eventually themselves get around to pairing off. Village opinion, too, may be in for a start when a father and his grown son, perhaps because they want to continue the discussion of some economic transaction in which they are involved, go to sit together in a coffeehouse where it has never been customary before for sons to sit with their fathers. Indeed, as pointed out earlier, the practice may be that sons are not even to enter the coffeehouse where the fathers go. Now and then, particularly in the past, innovators of this sort have experienced unpleasant social pressures of many kinds, which may even have stopped them from trying to change local customs. Today, there is such social ferment, such a mixing of traditional and modern roles, that much more individual variability is permitted.

178 Several times I asked Greek friends who were familiar with village life
369 whether the villager was more apt to imitate what he saw in Athens or what
602 he saw in a provincial town. In other words, I wondered if the changes emanating from the city were mediated by the townspeople who lived nearer the villager and in whose community the villager felt more at home. These

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ity; if he has a few acres available to him he knows that he can put in a crop and maintain life; without land he is helpless. That is why many peasants will insist on buying more land when they get a sum of money. The modern farmer, on the other hand, views land as only one of the factors of production. He can be quite impersonal toward particular patches of land, whereas in some countries the peasants feel closely attached to family acres handed down through two, three, or more generations. Peasant fathers, too, feel a strong sense of obligation to pass on to their children the patrimony of land intact, if possible. At times, this is even more important than providing the children with an education or a respectable dwelling. The modern farmer may feel much more security in the cash balances in the bank or in the improvements made on the land he has rather than the acquisition of more land simply for the sake of adding acreage to his estate.

Perhaps the most visible contrasts, as one passes from a peasant farming belt to one of modern farms, is the presence of machinery in the latter. The peasant relies on family labor to help not only with ordinary daily tasks but as much as possible to meet the needs at peak periods, such as harvest time. Any money given to outsiders who help is that much taken away from the family exchequer. This means that a peasant with many children is considered blessed over one with few, for the many sons especially are economic assets, though daughters help until they are married off as members of their husbands' family labor reserve. As Chapter 5 has shown, the purchase of a tractor by a Greek farm family ushers in numerous changes. Arthur Mosher, who is familiar with agriculture both in the Far East and in Latin America, points out the following consequences of shifting from family labor to machinery.[8] First, by reducing the labor requirements it frees members of the family for work in the city and may even necessitate their search for employment away from the village — a fact which introduces change into what may have been a closed family circle. Second, there is sometimes a change in status of the sons and younger men of the family who, unlike the older men, know how to operate the newly acquired machine. In peasant families, where the word of the older people, especially the father, has been law and where there is supposed to be unquestioned obedience to his directives, the emergence of a new technical "authority" in the family is bound to produce changes in the family relationships. A third effect of mechanization treated by Mosher is the creation of greater socioeconomic disparity between large and small farms, since mechanization is usually more economical on large farms. This tendency of the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer is sometimes offset, however, by the poorer farmers pooling their resources and setting up a small joint-ownership group, similar to some of the threshing "rings" of the American Midwest a generation or so ago. Or the small farmers may get the advantages of mechanization if the machines can be rented to them when needed,

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Vasilika

church of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, therefore, Vasilika's public buildings and its two commercial establishments are concentrated toward the end of the village that is closest to the turnoff from the highway.

The part of the village street which is between the two coffeehouses is called the *aghora* (market place), and it is here that the public life of the village is carried on. The bus stops at the *aghora.* Most of the itinerant peddlers stand there and loudly shout their wares. Government officials sit in one or the other of the coffeehouses to conduct business with the villagers. At the end of a day's work in the fields and throughout much of every day in the winter, Vasilika's men sit in the coffeehouses to talk, occasionally to play cards, and, incidentally, to drink coffee or, in the summer, soft drinks. On feast days and holidays musicians come to the *aghora,* and the villagers, their guests, and people from the neighboring settlements gather to listen to the music, and to take turns at dancing and at watching the dancers. For the most part, however, the world of the *aghora,* and, indeed, the public world of the village, is a male world penetrated sporadically by children of both sexes. Business with government officials or with artisans is conducted by the men. Men do the marketing from the peddlers of fresh foods, and buy whatever items are needed from the village stores. Little girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen, alone or with their brothers, may be sent to the *aghora* on errands, but older girls and women will venture into the area only to pass through it on their way to church or to the fields. I have seen a young mother from the eastern end of the village, when she heard the calls of a tomato vendor, walk to the edge of the *aghora* area. She stood some two hundred feet from the tomato wagon, shouted to the peddler to ask what his prices were, and then waited in the same spot until she could send a passing child to buy her tomatoes for her.

The private world of the villagers, which is more significant than the public one both from their own point of view and from that of the outside observer of the culture and social structure of the region, is concentrated in and around the homes. With a few exceptions to be noted later, each of Vasilika's married men owns the house in which he lives with his wife and children. The structural type and size of the houses and the arrangement of each family's compound of buildings varies partly with the age of the buildings and partly with the income level of the owners. The large older houses are two-story rectangular stone buildings with an outside staircase leading to the terrace of the second story. There is no way of reaching the upper rooms from the inside of the house. The terrace, with wooden plank flooring if there has been no recent renovation, and of cement, if there has been, is a constant feature of the two-story houses. The roofs are peaked and covered with red tiles. Stones are used to keep loose tiles in place. Large two-story houses built since the end of World War II are constructed on the same pattern, but with flat terrazzo roofs. Most of these are still constructed of the local stone. A second type of older house is smaller in area, has only one floor, and is built either of the prevailing stone or of whitewashed stucco covering a brick frame. Some of these structures have no windows, and when this is the case, they are more frequently than not used as combined storage houses and barns. However, several of Vasilika's families live in such

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

361 houses directly on the village street are fairly close to it, so that the protrusion of one wall obscures the view from the roadside entrance of the next house. Four of the substantial village households along the main street have high enclosing walls on the street side.

621 Either by inadvertence or by design, such an orientation of buildings has certain consequences. It successfully limits the ability of the members of any 156 village household to see directly just what is happening in more than two or three neighboring households. Except for such immediate neighbors, people may have to make a deliberate effort to find out what is going on in other sections of the village. And the signs may not be easy to interpret. The smoke rising from an oven down the hill indicates that the oven is in use. But it may be the owner who is using it, or some other woman who may have borrowed it to bake her bread. Or perhaps she is baking a *pita* (a kind of pie). Who knows? Besides, much of the movement of people to and from their homes has to do with what, from the villagers' point of view, are family affairs. Trips connected with [594] the possible sale of tobacco, with the purchase of finery for a festival, with the preliminaries involved in arranging marriages, or with the supervision of any property owned elsewhere, are considered private family business. One therefore [484] does not make a public show of setting out to attend to such affairs. People will make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch a bus. If most people are indoors or in the fields that day, a departure may not be noted until the evening discussions in the coffeehouse. Or perhaps not even then, since few men follow a regular pattern of coffeehouse attendance.

The point here is not that the people of Vasilika cannot and do not learn about the activities of the other villagers, but that the acquisition of such information comes with some conscious effort and often with some difficulty. Once obtained it is highly prized. One gets the impression that about some matters, at least, everyone is playing a perpetual game of hide and seek. Each family does its best to keep certain aspects of its own affairs from leaking out and every other family does its best to uncover the secrets. Each group succeeds somewhat in its purpose and the taste even of limited accomplishment serves to keep the game going. The placement and character of the buildings in Vasilika contribute to the intriguing quality of the process.

Movement in and through the Village

621 To return to the general question of the pattern of traffic and movement 484 in Vasilika: The public focus of the village is at the western end of the settle- 494 ment, and remains on the level plain. Many visitors to the village, therefore, never travel further, either out east or up the hill, than the *aghora*. But some trucks, tractors, horses, mules, donkeys, wagons, and even occasional taxies are driven through the entire settlement on their way to and from the fields near the river. The villagers themselves contribute much of this kind of traffic in the [512] spring, summer, and early fall when they go daily to the fields and transport

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

such as electrification and the provision of a reservoir for water to be piped to the houses. But the village is neither the moral center of the life of the villagers, nor is it, as an entity in its own right, one of their dominant interests.

Starting an ethnography with a chapter called "The Setting" is a common practice among anthropological writers. By implication, what will follow is a kind of play for which the "setting" provides the scene. Such a beginning is particularly appropriate to Vasilika, because the village has, for its inhabitants, as well as for the observer, some of the quality of a stage-set. The people of Vasilika seem to think of their fellow villagers as acting the role of the chorus in ancient Greek drama (it is the chorus which comments on the action). The main action of the "play" in the village lies in the life of the family. We have heard villagers exclaim in connection with some intense family situation, *"Ti dhrama!"* "What a tragedy!"

From an anthropological point of view, the family in Vasilika is significant not only as the focus of interest for the villagers, but also as a separable unit of the social structure of the settlement. In cultural terms, the patterns in which families participate as a unit form a large part of the culture of the entire community. The next three chapters are therefore devoted to the activities of the village families.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

2

The Family: Economic Activities

594 THE STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES of the family as the most significant social unit in Vasilika will become clearer in the ensuing discussions. For the present, the family in the village may be defined as what has variously been called the "elementary," "nuclear," or "conjugal" family; that is, a husband and wife and their children. It is the welfare of his own family as a corporate entity which motivates the actions of the villager; and the family is the group whose members work in cooperation to try to maintain or to improve their common position. The villagers measure prestige and honor by the degree to which a family succeeds in fulfilling its obligations. From their point of view, the essential family obligation is to maintain a ratio between property and children such as to enable each child, when the property is divided in equal shares among all the children, to maintain, in turn, a decent standard of living for his family. This goal commonly requires not only an effort to conserve the wealth received from previous generations, but also, if possible, to increase it. The villagers act as if they conceive of the family as a kin group which conserves, accumulates, and transmits wealth from one generation to the next. The ability to transmit wealth is especially important. The villagers consider a man who is rich in lands but has no children an object of pity; the man's wife is considered even more unfortunate. This is because the contemplation of the success of their children gives the life of a married couple a large part of its meaning. In the operation of the inheritance and dowry systems in the region, a son may be given his share of the patrimony in the form of an education and a daughter given hers as her dowry at marriage. An educated son who has a civil service job in a town, or a daughter whose dowry was large enough for her parents to have found a schoolteacher husband for her, can give to the parents lasting inner satisfaction and the joy of being able to tell of their child's exploits. To be able to sit and watch such adult children, or even an industrious farming son, as they talk to visitors of their adventures, or as, on a feast day, they eat the food their

[554] 594 556 428 [513] [583] 573

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons.

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets.

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness.

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

3

The Family: Consumption Habits

INCREASED INCOME resulting from technological advances in Vasilika has given the present generation in the village a wider choice of alternatives for allotting their resources than that enjoyed by their predecessors. The first call upon the family's income, after the needs of subsistence, is felt to be the accumulation of a dowry for the daughters and (since there is rarely land enough for all) the provision of an education or apprentice-training for all the sons except the one or two who could eventually be provided with enough land to farm profitably. The process by which these obligations are fulfilled is the subject of the next chapter. Here, our concern is with the goods and services used by the villagers, with particular emphasis on the overtones of meaning that accompany them.

The differences among the households of Vasilika in furnishings, foods, clothing, and hospitality patterns are not great on an absolute scale, but the small differences have, on the local scale, as much significance to the people of Vasilika as the corresponding differences do in any middle-class suburb in the United States. Family self-respect is maintained, and family rivalries are carried on in the village partly by demonstrating levels of taste through consumption habits.

What the villagers admire and try to emulate are standards of living and of taste as they perceive them to exist in the towns and cities. Their knowledge of these standards is acquired through the first-hand information brought back by their town relatives and by what they themselves notice on their own visits to urban centers.

The base to which the new standards are adapted, or for which they are substituted, is a set of patterns for rural living customary in the Boeotian countryside.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Inside Vasilika's Homes

Let us first consider the house. A new two-story house has the greatest prestige, but any family that builds a new house, even if it is only the small one-room brick house, gains some standing in the eyes of the villagers, although mild ridicule of the insignificant efforts of people of low prestige is not unknown in the village.

In the two-story houses, old or new, the ground floor typically consists of two rooms, one of which has cement flooring, with stuccoed walls and a fireplace. Many families use this room for all purposes: as kitchen, living room, and as the bedroom for all the members of the family. The women cook in the small fireplace, always conserving precious wood, the annual supply of which is usually purchased in October. They place two thin logs in the form of a V so that only the point at which the logs meet actually burns.

The only characteristic of the room which qualifies it as a kitchen is a wide window ledge, hollowed out to the depth of two inches, and lined with cement. The shallow basin slopes toward the window with a short length of metal tubing pushed through the outer wall of the house. A small water container with a spigot at the bottom is hung on a side wall above the shallow cement-lined basin, and the kitchen appointments are complete. Waste water drains through the tubing out into the yard of the house. The villagers often hang some towels near the basin and wash their hands and faces there each morning. The women of Vasilika used to agitate for the construction of a sink, both because it was a sign of progress and because it would ease some of their work. In 1961 they were eagerly awaiting the piping of water into the houses.

The lower floor all-purpose room is furnished with a few straight wooden chairs with cane seats, and may also have a table and a bed. Proper beds are not essential, however, because thin pallets can be brought out at night and placed on boards resting on wooden saw horses to create a bed, or may be merely laid out on the floor. The women pile the bedding, including folded pallets, sheets, and blankets, neatly in one corner of the room and cover the pile with a white rectangular cloth bedding-cover especially designed for the purpose.

The second lower room has an earthen floor and may be used for storing household supplies, wine-barrels, and agricultural produce. Among the less prosperous families, the lower floor may consist of only one earthen-floored room in which a curtain hanging near one end separates the living section from the storage area.

The upper story, apart from the terrace, may have several rooms with wooden plank floors and stucco walls. A second fireplace, sharing a flue with the lower one, may become the focus of what the villagers call the winter room. It is a smaller version of the all-purpose room below.

The remaining second-floor room is called the *saloni*, and is best designated in English as "the front parlor." It is the ceremonial room of the house, the part in which the family represents itself to the outside world. Visitors are

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) #63 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

342 ushered into the *saloni* and are expected to remain there. At name day celebrations, at the *paniyiri*, at Christmas, at engagement and wedding parties, guests are greeted in the *saloni* and may be served food there. Most of the time it is an uninhabited room, but because it represents the family to the world outside and because the patterns of hospitality in the village often require a family to entertain without advance notice, its furnishings are the best in the house and the room is always kept clean and in good order.

352 A typical *saloni* in Vasilika has a large square table placed in the center of the room. The table-top is covered with an ornamental cloth, often snowy white. A glass bowl commonly occupies the center of the table. It is often filled with slightly yellowed photographs of members of the family and relatives living away from the village, and with the most recently received postcards or greeting cards.

Virtually every *saloni* contains one or two large trousseau trunks placed along the wall. Their tops are usually covered with an ornamental white cloth. These trunks serve as storage places for bed linens, table linens, extra sheets, pillow cases, and table covers, which were part of the wife's trousseau. They also are repositories for the trousseau being prepared for the daughters of the house. No matter how low the income level of the family, there are always at least some token *rukha* (linens) as dowry. Again, regardless of income, every housewife serves her guests fruit preserves in small crystal dishes and the liqueur which accompanies the preserves in tiny crystal glasses, and proffers both items on a tray.

A *saloni* may contain no other furnishings, but often the one bedstead owned by the family remains there to be used only by guests. If the family owns a wardrobe they may display it in the *saloni* and store their best clothes in it.

215 Wedding photographs of the husband and wife of the household, and of their parents or their married children are hung on the walls of the *saloni*. Additional framed photographs of relatives who no longer live in the village also decorate the walls. Often a large framed mirror hangs on the same wall as the photographs.

207 Approximately ten of Vasilika's families had battery-operated table radios in the *saloni* in 1955. Since the electrification of the village, additional families have purchased radios on the installment plan. By 1961 it had become customary to turn on Greek folk music programs during the midday meal and in the evenings. Since 1958 several families have purchased elaborate chandelier-like fixtures, holding two or three electric bulbs. These are placed above the center table of the *saloni*.

342 The terrace of the two-story house has a variety of uses. Here the family may perform some simple household task. The women may hang their wash on wires stretched along the poles which support a sheltering roof. Here, too, they may set the table for the Easter feast. The entire family may sleep out on the terrace in the heat of summer. Whatever else the terrace is used for, however, its edge is always lined with plants of various kinds, potted in whitewashed gallon tin cans. Some are flowering plants, but many are herbs, especially basil, which the women use in cooking. The villagers, men and women alike, are passionately

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanothikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos*, as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

4

The Family: Dowry and Inheritance; Formal Structure[1]

182 428 583 THE DOWRY AND INHERITANCE SYSTEM in Vasilika is primarily a mechanism by which property is transferred from one generation to the next. It is this kind of mechanism, but it is also more. By reason of the context of values in which they operate and because of their specific characteristics, dowry and inheritance patterns as they function in Vasilika have ramifications not only for the Boeotian countryside but also for Greece as a whole.

Inheritance by Sons

428 583 Both the Greek laws of inheritance and village custom require that property be divided equally among all the children, sons and daughters alike. Some receive their shares through inheritance or by gifts while the parents are [671] still alive, but the daughters of a family are entitled to their share at marriage in [594] the form of a dowry. Since, from the standpoint of the villagers, a man's most compelling obligation is to arrange for the successful marriage of his daughters, and since no girl in Vasilika can normally expect to marry without at least a token dowry, the girls have first lien on the family's property. For most of [423] Vasilika's families, land holdings are the most valuable assets, and dowries are, therefore, calculated ordinarily as a transfer of a share of the land from parents to a daughter and through her to the jurisdiction of her husband. However, if a family's land holdings are such that it is obvious that by giving daughters their

[1] Portions of this chapter were presented as a paper at a conference on Rural Peoples of the Mediterranean held at Burg Wartenstein in July 1959, and will appear in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, scheduled for publication in 1962.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming, and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf. Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and *polis cosmos* (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A *panyiri* or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

the village attracts, and the villagers comment on their satisfaction at seeing some different faces.

A caveat may be in order here, however. No matter how much the villagers like the variety of life in the towns, and no matter how much they dislike the tiring and messy work on the farms, when they actually live in the village and are engaged in the work in the fields and at home, they work hard, steadily, and with a will. The people of Vasilika do not believe work is ennobling in itself; they seem to have no compulsive need to work to achieve self-respect, but they accept the need for hard labor as a means to the end of support for the family. Therefore, the villagers expect the farmer and his household to work hard and for long hours if an agricultural existence is their immediate fate, but do not condemn some farmer if he tries to arrange a different fate for his children. If he is unsuccessful, and all his sons stay on the farm, or if his daughters are married off to farmers, there is no disgrace in that either, as long as he did the best he could. And if a farmer can bequeath a good farm to any of his sons and the son manages the property skillfully, the economic success of the farm brings a measure of prestige, in Vasilika, to father and son alike.

Within the context of these values let us consider how the dowry and inheritance system functions in Vasilika. Sometimes after a farmer marries and has had at least one child, it would appear that he and his wife consider the question of how many more children it would be sensible for them to have. The parents recognize that the more children they have, the harder it will be to provide adequately for the future of each of them. Therefore, regulation of the size of families is accepted in the village as obviously prudent and sensible. The villagers explain that more children survive nowadays as a result of modern medical care, and that this obviates the need to have a large family in the hope that at least two or three of the children will reach maturity. In Vasilika, some prenatal care and confinement in one of the proprietary hospitals in Levadhia is recognized now as the safest kind of maternity care and also has the most prestige (Friedl 1958). Such care immediately increases the cost of childbirth and is a drain on the family's resources. But even those families whose babies are born at home with the aid of a traveling government-trained midwife are expected, as we have seen, to provide better food and finer clothing for their children than earlier generations provided for theirs. The added expense of rearing children has not been counterbalanced by any increase in their economic value on the farms. On the contrary, less labor is regularly needed, as Chapter 2 has shown.

The trend to smaller families seems to have started back in the 1920's. Genealogies show that the parents of the marriageable young adults of the middle and late 1950's had already limited the size of their families to a mode of four children in contrast to their parents who typically had had eight. The overt statements made by married men and women of all ages including the sixty- and seventy-year-old widows indicate that the change is deliberate and coincides with their expressed attitudes. Parents who have more children than they can adequately feed and care for are accused of behaving like animals; they

2:Fried1 E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

are said to have neither brains nor self-control. Parents with marriageable children were, therefore, in 1961, contemplating the division of their estates into fewer portions than their parents had done before them.

As his children are growing up, a farmer calculates approximately what he must give his daughter or daughters for dowries and how much will be left for each of his sons to share. If it is fairly obvious that the share left for the sons will be insufficient to support each of them, the farmer tries to make some other provision for one or more of the boys. Any boy who shows promise as a student is encouraged to continue his schooling beyond the compulsory sixth-grade elementary school in the village. Education is so highly prized that sometimes even an only son who might inherit an adequate farm is allowed to continue his education if he shows ability in academic subjects. The next step after elementary school most commonly chosen by the villagers is the six-year classical or humanistic gymnasium which serves as a necessary base for any civil service or white-collar post, and also for further study in the university or in specialized advanced technical schools. Although there are some private gymnasia, most of the farmers of Vasilika have sent their sons to the virtually free public institutions (Antonakaki 1955:39). These are in the provincial towns or in Athens, so that although there is little tuition charge, the farmer must pay for his son's board and room, for his school supplies, and for adequate clothing. Whenever possible, children are boarded with an aunt or uncle who lives in the town, but even under these conditions, farmers pay a fee to the relatives to cover the cost of their children's care. Sometimes, to keep food costs down, a mother prepares a basket of bread, cheese, and perhaps a vegetable stew for her son, places it in the bus bound for the town in which the boy goes to school, and the boy picks up the basket at the bus depot.

Whatever the particular arrangement, schooling involves an expenditure of current income, and the farmers consider that the cost of educating a son is about equivalent to a major portion of his share of the inheritance. The Greek Civil Code makes a specific provision for this view by declaring that educational expenses beyond those normally to be expected from the economic position of the family may be counted as part of the inheritance (Section 1895). In Vasilika it is assumed that a gymnasium-educated young man will spend the rest of his life living in some town, and that he will receive only a token share of the land after his father's death or at the time of the division of the estate. His parents, brothers, and sisters remaining in the villages as farmers gain in social stature and in potential actual advantage from his residence in town in a prestige-giving occupation. Both the legal code and village custom, then, involve the recognition that when farmers or shepherds undertake to educate their sons beyond the village school, they are striving for an improved status position in the nation as a whole, and that if sons succeed in the new prestige-giving occupation, they are the agents of upward social mobility for the family. Among Vasilika's land-owning farmers, an educated son gives the village the added advantage of a larger amount of land to divide among the remaining children. For farmers and shepherds who have very small land holdings or none at all, the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

sacrifices necessary to keep an academically talented son in the gymnasium are undertaken with enthusiasm, because such a son gives promise both of increasing the income of his family and of raising its social position.

Although not all of Vasilika's boys who start the gymnasium have sufficient talent or self-discipline to complete the course, a majority of them do so and give observable evidence of the feasibility of sending boys for advanced schooling. In 1959, of the thirty-four boys and young men who were between the ages of twelve and thirty and who were also sons of farmers, sixteen had attended or were then attending gymnasium, and three of the sixteen had received or were still receiving some education at a higher level. By 1961, as we have seen, a shepherd's boy had completed a year in gymnasium. Whether all these sons will succeed in finding employment commensurate with their educational qualifications depends, of course, on the economic development of the nation, and especially on the increased possibilities for employment in the towns and in Athens. In Vasilika each educated young man and his family hope that he will not have to return to the village to live.

The pattern of educating sons is not a new one in the village. With few exceptions, the groups of middle-aged brothers and of young adult brothers and sisters in the village in 1961 could boast of one additional brother who was living in a town or in Athens, and each of these men had had some education beyond the village school. There were also two men in this age group who were living in the village but had had some gymnasium training.

A second solution to the problem of surplus sons well known in the history of Greece has been emigration out of the country itself. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 about four young men left Vasilika for the United States. One of these returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and has lived in the village ever since. The other three are still in the United States. In the 1930's, one man left with his wife and child for Tanganyika. The extent of continuing association with these overseas relatives is different in each case; one man returned to Vasilika to visit his brother in the early 1950's and stayed for only a year; another wrote sporadically; a third disappeared and his son knew only that he had died in the States. The Tanganyika relatives, however, continually sent packages to their village cousins, and the son of the original emigré, who had died, returned to the village with his mother in 1959. The villagers always referred to the packages from Tanganyika as gifts from America and referred to the Tanganyikan, even after his return, as "the American." Apparently, the word "America" in the village is a generic term for an El Dorado abroad. However, emigration out of the country is not currently of interest to the villagers; no one in the village ever asked us for help in arranging the emigration of one of their sons to the United States, though joking references to our taking young people back with us were not uncommon.

Up to this point, then, we may conclude that the system of equal inheritance of property and the villagers' approval of urban living have led to an actual geographical movement of young men out of Vasilika and to a social movement into occupations other than farming for young men who have grown up in the rural settlement. Another aspect of the situation is that income from

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

first group of holdings. Once again, no brother knows which parcel of land will become his until after the drawing of the lots. Each man, therefore, has a strong incentive to see to it that the partition of the land holdings is as equitable as possible. If the mother of the men is still living, the brothers set apart several *stremata* of land which will become part of the share of whatever brother she elects to live with. This represents her dower right. Still other small parcels of land, on the order of five to ten *stremata*, are assigned outright to the brothers who are no longer farmers and do not live in the village. The token land is kept in their names, "so that they may remember their father," as one villager puts it. The conferees next turn their attention to their animal holdings and once again group these into parcels of equal value. Farm equipment and the outbuildings are treated in the same way.

Once the shares for each kind of property are decided upon, an enumeration of each share for each type of holding is written on a piece of paper and rolled up to resemble a cigarette. At that point, the women and children are called in and the time for drawing the lots has arrived. A neighbor or one of the children (never any of the adults in the family) is invited to draw the lots, first for the land, then for the farm animals, then for the equipment and outbuildings,and then for the houses. The moment is a tense one, for in spite of all efforts to equalize the shares some will be considered more desirable than others. The old house, for example, is not desired as much as one of the new houses, and the family that draws it may be disappointed. After the lots are drawn, the mother decides where she will stay. In one recent instance, she stayed with the brother who won the old house (he was not the eldest) because she felt more comfortable there. In another, the mother went with her younger son who had drawn a new house because his child was still small and her services as a baby-tender were needed.

When the whole procedure is completed, the personal effects of each brother and his wife and children are moved to the appropriate house, the furniture is distributed, and that night, for the first time, each family sleeps alone in its own establishment.

Descriptions given of the drawing of lots always convey the strong emotional involvement the participants have in the proceedings. The occasion heralds a change in the routines of life and in each family's attitude toward his property. The women tell of their tears and wails as they bid each other farewell before leaving to spend their first night in separate houses. They also describe their sensations of loneliness and strangeness under the new circumstances. The fact that the houses are almost always close together because they must be built on family-owned house sites in the village seems not to lessen the sense of dispersion as far as the women are concerned. The brothers continue as neighbors. They cooperate in agricultural activities much as unrelated neighbors in the village do: they borrow plows, draught animals, and other equipment from whoever owns it. In the meantime, the sisters-in-law may call on each other for help in the housework, they draw water from the same well, and their children visit freely in each other's houses. In other words, face-to-face associations con-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

tinue at only a slightly diminished rate. But the villagers' conception of the separation as a drama of great significance is based on the change in point of view which accompanies it. Henceforth, each small family is free to develop its own resources as it wishes. The different personalities of the brothers and their wives manifest themselves in the way they administer their property and raise their children, and, most importantly each brother can now freely give his entire loyalty to his own wife and children and consider all new situations from the standpoint of how they will affect the smaller unit. He is now at liberty, in the village view, to make decisions advantageous to himself, even at the expense of his brothers. The burden of consideration for the welfare of others has been lifted and the brothers are now as free as the rest of the villagers to be rivals of each other. This is not to say that all kinship rights and obligations towards one's adult brothers and sisters and their children disappear, but rather that the emphasis of most intense concern shifts at the time of property division. Indeed, it is generally agreed that the longer harmonious relations among the brothers can be maintained, the better. As a matter of fact, it is just for the sake of keeping good relations that the villagers claim they draw lots for the patrimony. They explain that by so doing, they can manage the business of dividing the property *me aghapi* (with love). No brother can blame any other for the particular share he happened to draw.

The villagers take it for granted that neither impartiality nor altruism is possible in situations which involve one's own interests. They do not believe that anyone, even one's own brother, can act fairly out of principle. Therefore, they feel, some mechanism is required to enforce equity. The strength of their mistrust of the fairness of others is illustrated by a villager's response to a question as to why the mother was not invited into the deliberations. (Mothers who are still active normally have the respect of their adult sons and participate in other kinds of decisions.) The son explained that it was because she might show favoritism toward one of the sons. This explanation was given in spite of the fact that the lot system effectively makes it impossible for anyone to implement favoritism. It is chance that makes the decision as to who gets which share and when faced with the operation of uncontrollable forces of the universe, the Greek villagers say, "*Ti na kanume,*" "What can we do?" From their point of view, adverse decisions left to chance are easier to bear than decisions made by self-seeking humans. Therefore, in situations over which they could have control, they prefer, if possible, to rearrange the situation into one in which chance, or fate, if you will, makes the final decision.

In the late 1950's, the number of households in which any married son was still living with his father and mother was small, and there were none in which several married sons were living this way. The reasons for this are first, the decreasing number of sons who are remaining farmers; second, the age distribution of Vasilika's male population (relatively few men in the marriageable age group); and third, the increasing age for marriage even of farming sons. Five of Vasilika's elementary family households were the result of the separation of two sets of brothers in the early 1950's. In Vasilika, therefore, the exist-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ing composition of the households is a deceptive base for understanding the principles of organization of households in the village. The existent situation is one in which elementary family households predominate, but the mental construct which influences the formation of new households does not seem to have changed from the old expectation that several married farming brothers will live together. It remains as a latent principle, available for implementation whenever the circumstances warrant it.

Consequences of the Dowry System

The discussion of the dowry as a mechanism of inheritance for children of farmers who remain farmers may now be summarized. The dowry is part of a system in which children receive property through the parents of both their fathers and their mothers. Property from two sources merges in each generation and is redistributed in the next generation. Although patrilineally inherited lands (those passed from a father to his sons in each generation) have some continuity in space and have some continuity of ownership in the male line, such lands always constitute only one part of the total holdings of any particular elementary family. Therefore, in Vasilika and its vicinity, the pattern of land and money circulation through inheritance has two facets: one portion that is patrilineally inherited straight down the line of males; a second, distributed at marriage, that eventually circulates among unrelated elementary families. The system cannot be described as one in which women inherit from women, in spite of the legal residual control of a woman over her dower properties, because brothers have equal rights with their sisters to their mother's dower lands. In Vasilika, at least, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit pattern of giving daughters only dower property and sons only patrilineally inherited lands.

The combination of practices including the function of the dowry as inheritance, land as a major form of property, and village exogamy have some further consequences for the relation of property to groups of kinsmen in the Boeotian countryside. In spite of patrilocal residence and some patrilineally inherited land, the descendants of a male line are not associated with any particular landed estates. Since no man owns or farms exactly the same holdings as his father farmed before him, nor the same holdings his brothers have, and since he himself will expect to work different lands in different communities even in the course of his own adult life, the permanent association of certain estates with certain lineages is obstructed (Friedl 1959b). Moreover, since dowries move down the generations and not across to a man of one's own generation who might use the property to marry off one of his daughters, there is no economic advantage to brother-and-sister exchange marriages. This situation is congruent with both the Greek Orthodox Church's and the Civil Code's (Section 1357) prohibitions on marriages between sisters and brothers-in-law and between cousins to the third degree. This rule, as well as the bilateral reckoning of kin in Greece (Section 1356), prevents the transfer of property at marriage from resulting in either a series of equal exchanges between two sets of kin groups

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to lo so.
471

Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They
594 unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called *vasana*, a task full o tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the lon; run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention he size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born o one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi*," "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika*, the villagers regard it a a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the
[593] new family. But at last of equal importance to the men is their feeling that their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from
594 dressmaking used ther earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings
511 to her father who use it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes, return some to help n the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the sugestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated or her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

management, they recognized the work of their women as contributing labor value, but in the context of the dowry, they did not see the situation this way.

The villagers act and talk as if they felt that it is the obligation of men to care for women, and that the obligation is largely fulfilled by the provision of a dowry for a daughter. The provision of the dowry is thus, in a sense, an outward manifestation of masculinity. By village custom, when a father dies or is incapacitated, a girl's brothers are considered responsible for marrying her off, and they are usually expected to fulfill this obligation before they themselves marry. This point of view does not correspond with the legal requirements. In the Civil Code (Section 1496) the mother is responsible for furnishing dowries for her daughters in the event of her husband's death or incapacity. The village attitude, however, I believe, is based partly on the feeling that most women are not capable of managing their estates and on the congruent custom of appointing male guardians to manage for them until their sons are grown, but more importantly on the basic notion that the provision of dowries is a male prerogative.

The emotional overtones accompanying the dowry system may be understood as a possible shift of emphasis from one kind of expression of male honor to another. Anthropologists who have worked in Greek Cypriot villages and in shepherd communities[3] report that the males in these settlements, almost all equally poor, based their sense of manly prestige not on wealth, but on the degree of honor they achieved by the protection of the chastity of their women. It would seem as if, in Boeotia, male honor depends not only on male protection of the chastity of women but also more explicitly and obviously on the provision by the men of adequate dowries for their women. The sense of satisfaction a man gets from dowering a daughter becomes more intense and compelling because the action is also an expression of his masculinity.

The shift of emphasis can be demonstrated in the village. Among the shepherds and landless or land-poor families in the village, girls marry earlier, with small dowries and trousseaus, and acquire correspondingly less prosperous husbands. The fathers and brothers involved, and the other villagers, comment on these unions by saying that early marriages are essential because otherwise the girls might run wild and disgrace the family. In other words, then, when economic means are limited, men can maintain their honor and self-respect only by protecting their women, and this becomes the paramount concern. The villagers seem to recognize that when there is no hope for even the modest degree of economic security and material well-being that the dowries of Vasilika's landowning farmers can provide, there is less impetus for the girl herself to remain virtuous or for her prospective suitors to respect her situation without the added emphasis on physical retaliation by her menfolk. However, flamboyant behavior and clandestine affairs could destroy the hope of a decent marriage for a girl whose father can provide a reasonable dowry. Or such actions might require an exorbitant dowry to overcome the effects of her bad reputation. For these girls, the rewards of waiting are great enough for them to be willing to postpone both

[3] John Peristiany and John Campbell, respectively.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

of his children; he tells of his exploits in the town; and usually he is the hero of his own tales. And since this must be done without giving too much information away, the stories have some of the vagueness of fantasy. As the examples show, however, self-praise is likely to occur with visitors as a part of the process of establishing a basis for a relationship. It is the relative lack of such opportunity in a small village, where everyone knows everyone else, that accounts for some of the complaints of the villagers about the monotony of village life. As I said at the beginning of the chapter, a desire for chances to contrast oneself with others, to enter into new situations, seems to be a strong impetus to action among the villagers and, in fact, an important source of the enjoyment of life. The warmth and generosity with which strangers are welcomed—the rightly famous Greek hospitality—may perhaps be understood partly in these terms.

The foregoing examples are undramatic in contrast with the violent defense of his *filotimo* required of a man whose daughter or sister has been dishonored. They fail to indicate the startling sacrifices of resources and energies that entire families have made in Greece to give hospitality to strangers or to protect fugitives of one kind or another, or the courage and daring with which a man may commit himself to a hazardous enterprise to express his honor and his sense of manhood. Such expressions of *filotimo* have been reported again and again from various regions of Greece.

The pattern of life in Vasilika, however, permits few opportunities for such dramatic incidents. A hazardous enterprise for our villagers cannot be a dangerous voyage in a strong sea, but must be, for example, a change from cotton to melon cultivation with an awareness of the risk involved. But the lack of extravagant situations should not obscure the underlying current of *amour propre* which characterizes the villagers—whether it be the sense of shame or of honor. For it exists and is always evident in the sensitivity, the tension, which characterizes human relationships and makes so many encounters a possible source of hurt and ill-feeling, as well as a possible source of triumph and satisfaction.

Noncompetitive Social Groupings

It now becomes possible to analyze the social field of the villager's agonistic relationships. Although some degree of competition in human relations is always present, even if only in a mild, bantering form, there are some social groupings in which agonistic relations play a minor part. The most significant of these is the elementary family. The unity of family goals and the dependence of each person on the others in the family for the maintenance of self-esteem limit the extent to which the home can be a battleground, although a child acquires from the behavior and attitudes of his parents, brothers, and sisters toward him the skills with which to battle. The elementary family is not only the most important economic unit in Vasilika, it is also a unit of *filotimo* and *dropi* (honor and shame). Each individual's actions reflect on his parents and only to a slightly lesser extent on his brothers and sisters and therefore contribute to the family's self-esteem. Since, as has been suggested, one expression of individual *filotimo*

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

is not to admit one's own shortcomings, so a family will protect its members by overt support even when they engage in admittedly deviant behavior. An individual is told within the family circle that he is bringing disgrace on all its members, but he knows equally well that the family will protect him outside from as many of the consequences of his acts as possible. Families sacrifice much to send offending sons and daughters into other communities or to protect them in other ways. Children, in turn, speak well of their parents and tell of their accomplishments, even under circumstances in which the facts would not warrant such loyalty. The combat unit, for some occasions at least, is therefore the entire elementary family in its relationships with other families, and, indeed, with the rest of the world.

Congruent with this state of affairs is the fact that when the battle is not between families, the lines of antagonism are not drawn between age grades or sexes. The battle is not between the old and the young, or between men and women. It is rather old against other old, young against other young, men against other men, and women against other women.

Let us consider age groupings first. These are seen by the villagers roughly as pre-school children; school children up to twelve years old, at which time they have finished the elementary grades; adolescents, who are considered young until they marry; married adults; and finally elders, marked by the fact that their children are married. The divisions are not clearly defined and there is much overlapping, but to a certain extent each younger group treats the next older category of people with at least some of the deference with which all treat the elders; and each older group treats the next younger with some of the peremptoriness with which the elders are entitled to treat all others. Since the patterns of deference toward older men and the reciprocal nondeference are the standards for behavior among people of different social position, they shall be described here. Older men are always seated quickly and are not left standing under any circumstances. In the winter their seat is directly opposite the fireplace, while the women and children sit at right angles to the men. Older men are given the best chair the establishment affords; they are permitted to lean against the stalls in the front of the church while others usually may not do so. Young men do not smoke in front of their fathers; there is an avoidance of ribald conversation between the age groups. Older men in the village are addressed by courtesy titles such as *barba* (uncle) or, if considerably older than the speaker, as *papuli* (grandfather); and older men are always served first if there are no visitors present. Within the family, sons and daughters kiss the hands of their parents when they return after an absence. All children do this for respected elders who visit the village, while a large majority of the villagers on formal occasions greet the village priest in this fashion.

Elders in their relations with younger people address them by their given names and have the ptivilege of ordering them to run errands or to perform all kinds of small services. The tone in which older people order the younger is loud, often peremptory, and frequently is an exhortation to hurry. *"Glighora!, glighora!,"* "Fast!" said in a tone of command and dismissal, is perhaps the most telling expression of a superordinate person's relation to a subordinate. The

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

reply is commonly *"Amesos!"* "Immediately!" or *"Eftasa!"* "I have arrived already!" These answers are forms only; younger children often set out at a run; others proceed at whatever pace pleases them at the moment. But the significance of these phrases for us is that *"glighord"* is never used by a younger person to an older one.

These expressions of deference, on the one hand, and of imperiousness, on the other, are outward signs of noncompeting relationships, because each age group and, by extension, each social status has rights, duties, and obligations, with one set of these shading gradually into the other with sufficient separation so that a complementary rather than a competing relationship predominates. Preschool children are expected to learn what elders in all categories teach them and otherwise have few responsibilities. School children, both boys and girls, take on the burdens of life, because their success in school is a matter of vital concern to themselves and their families. During school holidays school children from ages seven to twelve are expected to help with farm work. When they have finished elementary school the children consider themselves adult (they said so in a set of essays we asked them to write on what they wanted to do when they were grown) and expect to contribute to the welfare of their families, either by taking on more and more responsibilities on the farm, or by apprenticeships to trades. This is the period in which comradeship is most possible. Each boy tends to have one other boy as a friend and companion. They visit festivals together, go to the coffeehouse, and play cards together. Girls have less opportunity for free movement and are more likely to sit and work with their age companions in neighborhood work groups. Whatever work these older boys and girls do on the farm is supervised by their elders, and the supervision is accepted. Nevertheless, as explained already, each person has the right to contribute his suggestions and advice, and although a father or older man has the right to make the final decision, he rarely chooses one that will anger his younger assistants.

Here again, the young people work in a complementary relation with other members of the family; their goals are the same as those of their elders—to do well so that a good marriage can eventually be arranged—and the various means by which to achieve these goals are not in dispute. In spite of the rapid and accelerating technological and material changes in the village since the end of World War I, these changes have not led to conflicts between the generations. As earlier chapters have indicated, old people are basically no less "progressive" than their juniors; young and old continue to agree on the goals and on the means to achieve them as they change, and each has his part to play in the achievement of the approved ends. The grandparent generation joins with the rest.

Once the young people have married, they either continue as farmers in the household of their parents and gradually take over more of the supervision of the work, or work separately as a new elementary family. Therefore, to return to our original remark, the agonistic quality is not characteristic of relations between the generations.

The kind of competition we have been describing as agonistic does not prevail between the sexes in Vasilika. Men and women are considered far too different from each other for that.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

000 different from each other for that. In the farming life of the village, men and
562 women work, for the most part, at different tasks inside the households and in
521 the fields. Men go to the coffeehouses alone and talk politics among themselves,
829 women do neither; men do not discuss politics with women. In 1956, at a time the men of the village were agitated over the Cyprus issue (as was the entire Greek nation), a woman announced to a group of other women one morning that the English had hanged two young terrorists on Cyprus. Only one other woman in the group of five knew what she meant, and one of the group had so little knowledge that she asked, "What is Cyprus?"

562 The strength of the conceptual differentiation of men and women in the
[834] village may be judged from the expectation that the women will give men the
[576] kind of deference the young give the old. Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty; greater emotionality and sensibility and, therefore, a longer continuing struggle for self-control; less rationality; and a greater vulnerability, which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural.

Americans are struck by the separateness of the preoccupations and activi-
[594] ties of men and women in Vasilika. Men and women meet only with respect to their joint family obligations—the responsibilities of procreation and of supporting their children. Among the villagers there is even an atmosphere of covert mutual dislike between the sexes. Men express contempt for what interests women and vice versa. The spheres of activity in which men and women support each other have to do with the honor of the family and constitute a division of labor based on sex but with a curiously sexless quality. There is no mutuality between the sexes in the village when the needs of masculinity or the needs of
[577] femininity are involved. The women have little patience with, and may even fear,
[828] male extravagance in efforts to maintain *filotimo;* men have little patience with emotional crises in females.

It is difficult to write of these characteristic attitudes without creating a distorted picture of women as an inferior sex and of males and females at war with each other. The male-centeredness of Greek village society is undeniable; but
[834] neither are women wholly without rights. For example, the avoidance of places where men gather is a form of modesty, as I have suggested, and not an admission of inferiority. Women have their own conversational groups of working
[594] neighbors which men do not join. In addition, the economic functions of the dowry and the residual control women maintain over it gives them considerable voice in the decisions made within the family.

562 Finally, the residual equality of a common humanity which appears in
593 the reciprocal comments and suggestions between people in superordinate and subordinate positions—at least in the village—again mitigates the severity of the relationship betwen the sexes. Nor should we leave the subject without mention of the accommodation many couples make to their marriages or of the frequent development of mutual affection between husband and wife who find themselves compatible as individuals once they have worked together to raise a family. What I wish to explain here is that mutual respect and affection between a married couple can develop in Vasilika, but that in order for it to do so, the husband and

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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Vasilika

369 However Vasilika is an open community in
463 still another sense. Both men and women born and raised in the village have
871 left it for other communities, and for occupations other than farming. Educa-
[873] tion beyond the six years of compulsory schooling in the village is essential for
[166] any civil service or clerical job, and of course for any of the professions. The gymnasiums or high school-junior colleges are in the towns. The farmer who wants his son to have higher education must send him out of the village at the age of twelve with the hope that he will continue in the gymnasium for six years. Upon graduation, and after a series of examinations, a successful son may become a government employee in the tax office in Amphiklia, a post-office employee or a policeman in Athens, perhaps a teacher in a village school, or an employee in a bank. A village-bred boy sometimes returns to his own or a neighboring village as a physician. Nor is formal education the only way for a
[874] farm boy to change his occupation. In some families, sons are apprenticed to
[702] barbers or tailors, and may eventually set up shop for themselves. In recent years, young men have been drafted at the age of 21 for two years of service in
[554] the armed forces of Greece. The services not only give a young man experience of other parts of Greece, but may teach him a trade as well. This situation undoubtedly provides increased opportunities for social mobility, but it is too early for its possible permanent effects to be assessed.

594 Education or training beyond the village school (except for that provided
871 by the armed forces) is expensive by Greek standards. Although the tuition
[873] charge is slight, if any, at the gymnasium, a boy must be supported in the town, and if there is no relative with whom he can live, this means a cash outlay. In spite of this fact, it is by no means only the sons of the more affluent farmers who are educated. As a matter of fact, if a farmer has sufficient land resources both to provide his daughters with adequate dowries and one of his sons with a good farm, he will keep one boy on the land. But all the sons of land-poor families may be sent for further education or training regardless of the sacrifices involved.

369 Upward and outward mobility is possible for girls through the dowry sys-
554 tem and the prevailing marriage customs. Village exogamy is most usual, and a
58 woman goes to live in her husband's village. Marriage without a dowry is almost impossible in Greece, and the value of the dowry determines the future social position of a girl and, to some extent, that of her family. The larger the dowry a man can provide, the more likely it is that he will acquire a town or city son-in-law engaged in a nonfarming occupation. There are other avenues
[871] of mobility for girls. A small proportion go to the gymnasium, and then either train to become teachers, or are considered more valuable simply because they have been educated, and can get a good husband without quite so large a
[463] dowry. Another small group goes to the provincial town or to Athens to be trained as dressmakers or beauty operators, and may return to the villages to engage in these occupations.[2] Such skills are considered real assets, and may
369 again improve the girl's chance of a good marriage. It would not be unusual,
602 therefore, for a farmer of Vasilika to run the farm with the help of one of his sons, to have another son in Athens as a civil servant or a taxi-driver, to

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi community is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 241 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435] [464]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manufacturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/16 cont./

The young lady at home virtually becomes a slave. She has to prepare warm water and wash the feet of her father and mother-in-law, do the washing, cooking, sewing, cleaning and work at the loom to prepare cloth for the family. The son has no right to object to the demands of his parents, for the services they expect /17/ from his wife. This custom throughout many centuries has become a part of their philosophy of life and naturally is a part of the good qualities of women.

The work of the women is not seasonal as the men's is. The rush of the summer season decreases in the winter months but the women have to weave, knit, sew, cook, wash the family's clothes and attend the chores. The men during the winter months come together in coffee houses and spend their day in sipping coffee, reading the newspaper and discussing politics.

Work of Husbands.

Unlike many agricultural counties where the work of the husband is more or less distributed more evenly throughout the year, here we have one crop farming that occupies the men for a few months and the rest of the year is spent in the coffee house, which serve as centers of discussion and relaxation. The effect of the coffee houses is great on the individuals.

On bazaar days the husband goes to the market where he spends his time either buying articles of food for his family or to meet his friends and study the market prices of certain commodities.

The long day. During sowing season and harvesting season, which lasts four months of the year, the family /18/ spends long daily hours in the fields. The long hours of work during the rush season obliges the farmer to take his whole family to the fields and enough food to spend the week there. Due to the systems of dividing the land, a farmer besides having six patches scattered on all sides of the village, has to walk 6 miles from the village to get to his fields. Thus the distance and the rush of the work obliges the farmer to sleep in the fields. The usual diet on such long days of hard work is white cheese, black bread, yugourt,

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[538]

/28 cont./
always with great courage, heroism and self sacrifice for a good cause.

It is perhaps this very thing that makes the life of a Greek young man happy when he is called to the army. His girl takes pride in him. This date of his call to the army is celebrated by the whole village with presents, drinks, and enthusiastic speeches. [527]

He is taught by his grandparent to respect the oldest and value their advice. He never speaks to the old unless he is asked to, nor sits before them but always stands up for respect. In case he gets some scolding from the old, whether justifiable or unjustifiable, he has to accept it without any answer. 867 603 888

The girl is taught to be silent and blush before the old. She is taught to dress modestly and never hang around the water fountains. She is taught the virtue of beauty in woman is to keep her lips closed. It has become an accepted custom for both grandfather and grandmother to take pride in giving the right type of training to their grandchildren.

Educational Goals. It is the ambition of every family to educate their children especially their sons. /29/ Besides getting through the sixth grade their aim is to send them to the high school and then to the University. No father wants his son to become a farmer; he wants him to be a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer or an army man. The sacrifices that the parents and relatives undergo to give an education to the young of the family is tremendous. They sell their cows, their oxen and sometimes go into heavy debt in order to educate their children. 871 594 [602] [426]

The expression of the parents is, "Let me eat bread and onion only, for the sake of the education of my son." The urge on the part of the relatives is very great for having someone in the family educated. They all share alike the burden without expecting repayment. Fathers think their profession has no future for their sons and try by all means to send them away for training in other occupations. [602]

Young men who carry on their school work under such hard economic conditions find it very discouraging. Some of them 871 164

/02 cont./ 511
few handmade embroideries. Seldom one finds a bedstead, but 352
boards nailed together serve as a bedstead.

How is the money spent? The men keep the money and the 511
accounts but the women save the money from the eggs and the 594
poultry which they sell. The man never gives an account to the [451]
wife of how he spends his money. She is supposed to work hard
but should not question how and why the money was spent. The
farmer is interested only in his farm enterprise, that is his oxen,
implements, seed and repair of the buildings. The women are
responsible for the rest. Often conflicts take place due to the
stinginess of the husband to spend money for clothing of his wife
and children and for food. It is not unusual to find men spend-
ing money for getting drunk or gambling.

Some farmers do spend their money in buying more animals, 511
implements and improving their poorly built houses. A large part 241
of the money is spent in buildings. The more the farmer becomes [454]
civilized the more his needs increase.

/03/ Food consumption. The main diet is bread. The people 262
are used to prepare three kinds of cereal from wheat and barley.
Barley is shelled and cracked and used for soup with milk. The
wheat is boiled, dried and then finely cracked and used as cereal.
The wheat flour is baked with sour milk and tomato juice, dried
and when pulverized is used for soup. Macaroni is prepared from [251]
wheat flour, dried in the oven and stored for winter.

Besides the above they have dried beans, chick peas, canned
dry cheese. During Christmas they all kill a pig which they
cook and keep it till late in summer. The lard is used for cook-
ing. Since vegetables are plentiful they supplement the starch
foods. Milk is precious and found only during spring and summer
months when pasture is plenty. Eggs and poultry are luxuries and [438]
are sold on the market. Seldom the family kills a chicken. The
diet centers around wheat products and vegetables. Pickled
cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers and bread are the best
combinations for hard work. Olives and olive oil are consumed
daily with bread. The basic fat in cooking is olive oil or linseed
oil.

/71 cont./ If a mother 554
or a father is unable to punish their children, they report /72/ 875
them to the teacher and he gives the proper punishment. Students 876
stand at attention and salute their teachers wherever they see him. 544
They are ready to fulfill his orders regardless of the parents' approval. The parents have no right to complain about any kind of punishment to the student by the teacher, regardless of how severe it is.

Every child from 6 to 13 years of age has to complete the 872
grammar school. Education is compulsory by the government. [681]
A father who suspends his child from school is fined.

Besides the grammar school there was another agent that 242
acted as an educational organization for adult education. The 874
graduates of the grammar school of the ages from 14 to 20 years were organized in winter farm courses. Their schedule of lessons was based on the farm survey of their village and on the questionnaire which was put to them to find out what they would like to learn during winter months. The lessons were mostly field work and very little class work. Each student, besides following the different jobs of his father's occupation, takes active part in a cooperative project. This cooperative project is the /73/ central [476] theme around which the different lessons are organized. The project is based on some common but unknown factor that the students try to investigate. Special committees from among the group are appointed to divide the jobs at different seasons to every one. Careful accounts are kept of the share of labor of each student, of the cost of the project, and of the climatic conditions under which the project was conducted. At the end of the project year, each student receives his share of income according to the number of hours he worked.

The most effective phase of this project is the yearly demon- 178
stration of the work done by the students to the farmers of the 476
village, the work done, the money spent and results obtained. 242
It is one of the convincing methods to show the farmer how to 874
improve his methods of farming by introducing either better

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THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

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I do not envy others for their vineyards and their gardens,
I envy only those who can stay in one place
And most I envy those who have brothers and first cousins
To grieve with them and rejoice with them
And to help each other when anything befalls.
(Cretan folksong)

Greek society starts with the family, and is patterned on it. It extends outward from it. A child is born into a group and remains part of the group through no effort of its own, through no attempt to please. Work and play, eating, conversation, celebration, are all in terms of this unit, and are the way in which belongingness is taken on and reaffirmed. Wider contacts come through the family and its extensions. A child's friends are the family friends and their children, and the relatives. He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family, by day or by night, though pediatricians protest against the latter practice. He goes to church with the family, attending the regular liturgy, not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious ceremonial occasions come late at night, such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight, the children are present. Except where foreign customs have been taken over, a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday. What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named, and it is his family who celebrate. Old and young come to congratulate the family, and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years. The family, containing the child, is the focus, not the child himself.

594 [855] [852] [946] [527] [177]

The Greek family is family-oriented. It makes room for the child, and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child, expects her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child. On the other hand, the child is not the focus, and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special mealtimes for the child, neither are the family mealtimes shifted to accommodate its needs. If the father leaves the fields or closes his store on the child's nameday, it is because the *family* is celebrating. The child in the family is neither outstanding nor disruptive; but he is important, since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family.

594 855 [264] [527]

In a Greek family the members spend much time together. The children learn to enjoy being with the adults, and to listen to their conversation, which is not trimmed down to meet the children's interests. In the village, a house often consists of only one room, so there is no physical privacy; and even when there are more rooms for summer living, the winter room is one. And shared living is prized. There is no craving for aloneness, although aloneness is

594 [521] [342] [156]

594 accepted without complaint when necessary, as a hardship to be borne
[156] with fortitude. Sisters like to share a room, and even a bed; mothers like
[513] to work with their daughters, whom they do not consider to be underfoot. It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters. Family matters are discussed by all, and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field.

594 Greeks value freedom and self-dependence, but the unit of self-
593 dependence is not the individual but the family. The family is an
156 organic whole, a system of delicately balanced roles and interrelationships. Older siblings are responsible for younger siblings, males for females. A Greek never ceases to have a claim on his family; a married son or daughter cannot be poor, starting at the bottom of the financial scale, while the parents thrive financially. A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philotimo* or becoming dependent in character. A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy. This is not dependence, it is one's rightful place within a structured, balanced whole. There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one's family. But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

593 Equality within the family is a matter of personal essence, not of
594 fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor. The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family. It is not uncommon to
[589] find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed
[583] sister and her family, or in order to earn a dowry for a large number
[167] of sisters. The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States. The responsibility for
602 younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions
593 and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserv-
661 ing by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who
156 have stayed in the village working in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high government position, owes it to his family and to his role within it to find positions for his nephews. If he does not, he fails his family, he does not uphold the family *philotimo*, he is not a good Greek.

594 On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gives some
241 property to every child, to sons for farming, to daughters for a dowry.
423 This is at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece
425 at present, since fields have been divided, often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre, and require consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm implements can be made, as well as for contour farming and efficient fertilization.

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metrica*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special

264 594 titbits, additional dishes, or special table arrangements. It is an occasion not to be treated lightly. Everyone down to the smallest child is present, and sits at the table throughout the meal. Everyone crosses himself at the beginning and the end of the meal. A blessing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time. To quarrel at the table would be like "quarrelling in Church". Food is one aspect of this total situation, but it is not the entire end of the meal; and dinner is much more than food. Breakfast is not a meal but a light snack for individuals. The true family meal comes after [461 369] one's day's "work" is over. Where people work until 2 p.m. and then stop for the day, as in offices in Athens, there may be two family meals a day; but the family meal is usually the evening meal.

264 594 The meal is the supreme medium of hospitality. All hospitality involves the offer of some food—a spoonful of preserves, coffee, brandy, nuts, fresh fruit, according to locality and time of the year. The meal goes beyond this. Visitors helping to re-establish refugees in their devastated villages report that the peasants kill their only hen for them, and fill their pockets with the few nuts they have. To invite a friend to dinner and take him to a restaurant is an insult, even in Athens. Restaurants are for foreigners and those who ape their ways, and for those unfortunate travellers who have no relatives in the city. There are also eating places known as kitchens, where men who work too far from home can get a home-like meal. A group of friends on an outing or out for a dance may also eat together, incidentally, but this is a different matter.

146 261 455 Traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you. In the cities there are at times articles published on nutrition. The mothers read maternal and child care manuals which mention and describe nutrition, and perhaps they read the book by Dr. Katsigra on Food and Life, which tells them that all Greek food recipes destroy food values and transform the food into poison. Very few other Greeks are aware of these writings, or mention such [369] things in conversation, however. In the cities where mothers have been taught to stress nutritional values, to feed their children by schedule, and to keep them from the social communion of the family meal, feeding problems are well-known; in the villages such problems are not reported. Children there are not urged to eat, and are not tempted with special foods: "Why should children not want to eat? Isn't food good?" If they do not like the eggplant dish particularly, there is always bread, and no one has ever heard of a child who does not like bread.

262 264 Greek meals are traditionally simple. There is always bread, and every mouthful of food must be eaten with a bite of bread. Greeks at foreign tables find it very difficult to face food, even potatoes and spaghetti, without the traditional mouthful of bread; apart from distaste, there is a feeling of guilt at eating food without bread. In the